TIMOR OF20 JAVA OE1 Flores OF9 Nias OD11 Buru OH8 Bali OF7 New Guinea OJ1

I 342 174 [397 cont.] the houses in North Tëtoen (Bëloe) in particular are oval in form.

In the western part of Flores (Manggarai), too, the original F 342 I 342 174 [398] form of the houses was that of a large-sized cone. The main support runs through the center of the circular floor of split bamboo or planks, which lies half a meter to a meter above the ground. The rafters run from the top of the central support to the edges of the flooring. The roof covering of dried leaves, split rattan, etc. is fastened down by circular bamboo laths. In the newer kind of house the roof does not run down to the floor, but rests upon a little wall of pressed bamboo around the edge of the floor. Larger houses with elliptical floors are also found here.

I 342 174 N [342] Northern Nias also has oval houses, while those of southern Nias are square. Since housebuilding on southern Nias is undoubtedly much superior to that in the north of the island, there is further evidence here that the square form is a higher development.

With the above exceptions in mind, the square house is the rule throughout the archipelago. The chief differences are in size, the shape of the roof, the partitioning of the interior space, the kind of material used, and whether the house is built on the ground or raised on piles.

J [342] To take the last first, this is the principal difference between central and eastern Java, where the houses are not raised on piles, and practically all the other peoples of the archipelago, among whom pile-dwellings are found (1), built on the shore, on the

BQ BU T N [342]

1. Exceptions are the above-mentioned houses of the dwarf Papuans, the round dwellings on Timor, the dwellings on Buru, and the houses on Bali; the last will be dealt with separately.

banks of a river above the water, or, in the interior, above the ground. The height of the floor above the ground varies greatly, J [342] from several feet in western Java to several meters in central Borneo and other places.

Batak OB5 Toradja OB11
Sumatra OB1 Flores OB10
Makassar OB6 Nias OB12
Atjehnese OB4 Baku OC5
Moluccas OB3 Borneo OC1

I 342 NPT 342 [399 cont.] among the Toradja now, six small families; on western Flores there is one kampong, Tjeremba, which actually consists of only one dwelling that houses about 60 small families, or nearly 200 persons. On Nias, too, a number of small families are housed in one dwelling.

Bk 342 This living together in one house, however, is not to be viewed as everyone living higgledy-piggledy with everyone else. Among the Kajan-Dajaks [Kayan-Dyak], for instance, where the greatest number of persons live under one roof, the front part of such a long clan [stam] house, which at the same time forms a village, is a communal veranda for the household activities of all the inhabitants, for gatherings, etc. The rear part of the house, however, which is separated from the front veranda by a wall with doors, is divided into rooms for the small families [gezins]. One could imagine it as a village with the houses built consecutively under one roof, with the village street, covered by the same roof, running in front of it.

All the so-called family houses are partitioned in much the same way: [400] a communal part, either as a front veranda, a side or interior passage, or interior room; and the rooms for the small families. Only among the Toba-Batak is there no actual partitioning of the space by means of a wall or curtains; there are just the four corners of the room, intended respectively for the head of the house and his immediate family, the married daughter, the married son, etc.

Bt [342]

The adult youths, and frequently guests, sleep in the communal part of the large family-houses.

Ml MK A S Br 342 As has already been said, the houses of the various peoples of the archipelago differ primarily in the form of the roof. The simplest form of roof consists of two slanting pieces and two vertical pieces, which are more or less a continuation of the side walls. Such roofs are found on the long houses of the Dajak [Dyak], among the inhabitants of southern and eastern Sumatra, on Atjeh, among the Buginese and Makassarese, and on most of the islands of the Moluccas. It is the most obvious form of roof, merely serving to drain off the rainwater and having no architectural goals.

1:Alkema & Bezemer--452 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia

Minangkabau OD10
Toradja OG11
Flores OF9

[404 cont.]

monotony of the grey-black idjoek covering. The walls of the dwellings are often decorated with delicate carvings and paintings and are inlaid with pieces of mirror glass.

M 342 [531]

The houses of the Toradja west of Palopo resemble the Toba-

T 342

Karo-Batak Village
Coll. Bezemer

Batak houses as far as the protruding roof is concerned. Here, too, the saddle-shaped curve of the roof runs up very high and protrudes far out over the front of the house, so far indeed that a vertical supporting beam and various crossbeams are necessary to shore it up. The front wall of the house and the supporting beams are covered with delicate carvings in various colors, and carabao horns with an imitation carabao head are added to a vertical support. Even the rice granaries here have such handsome roofs, as have the bridges, for example, in the Rantépao valley (see illustration on p. 454).

T [531]

T [343]

As a fairly high type of dwelling from the more easterly areas of the archipelago, the houses of the Ngada of central Flores should

F 342

F [404 cont.]
342 be mentioned. Here the house stands on piles 1.50 to two meters above the ground and has vertical walls about 1.50 meters high. Above this there is a very high roof which, except in front, drops to the height of the floor, offering double protection inside
F [132] against the often very cold winds in these areas. [405] An inner gallery is built against the house on the front, with the floor lower than that of the house; it is partially closed off at the front by a wooden or bamboo balustrade. In front of it and somewhat lower still is an outer gallery that is not closed off. [Illustration appears here.] This is often attached to the galleries of the adja-
F [531 554] cent houses, so that a number of houses in the same row are connected with one another. The houses of prominent persons often have three galleries. Woodcarvings are common around the door and in other places. The houses of the Ngada serve as dwellings
F [512] for only one or two small families [gezin]. During the day people stay in the front gallery and at night inside the house where a fire always burns.

I 342 From the foregoing description it is already obvious that the building materials are always wood and bamboo, never stone. An exception to this general rule is found in the houses on Bali
B L 342 and a part of Lombok where clay and natural stone are used. "The typical Balinese dwelling is an oblong rectangle divided into three parts. The front part includes the rice granaries, or in some cases the cattle shed, and accommodations for guests; the second, the [406] sleeping rooms and the kitchen of the
B [316] family; and the third, the house temple. The living rooms are of clay and covered with thatch or atap. In the stony areas of Karangasem and Bangli, which are poor in clay, natural stone is used for the walls and bamboo laths for the roof covering. Well-to-do Balinese divide their compounds, which cover a greater area, into more sections, each of which is used for a particular purpose" (1). [Illustration appears here.]

1. Encyclopaedie van Nederlands Indië, Vol. I, p. 121. See also the detailed

361 jagged mountains rising all around the town.
[133] There are also two amazing, high, flat topped volcanic peaks. One is called Gunung Medja. The town stretches along the shore, with plenty of red and yellow flowering trees. There is a large impressive alun-alun [field, plaza] going down to the beach in the center. Behind this are a number of good houses. On the east side is the market and on the west side are good
[342] houses too. The houses are well constructed and there was evidently not much bombing here.
[346] As usual, the high church is but a shell, as it was bombed, this time by the Australians.

485 I found that the town of Ende has practically nothing. There was no running water in the pasanggrahan except for a trickle in the morning.
[377] Electricity is weak and tends to break down.
443 The toko have very little in the way of merchandise. It is impossible to buy beer because the stores are out of it. The cigarettes from the distributie have all been used up and one now has to buy such items on the black market.
495 There is no gas pump, and I have to get gas at the V & W, which pours it out dirty from the tin. Because of this I have had trouble with the jeep for the first time. This is a real end-of-the-world-like place, although the appearance is
[132] rather nice. It is also extremely hot and humid, in fact it is the worst I have experienced yet. At midday it is like taking a Turkish bath here.

485 As usual, the pasanggrahan is not arranged for people who work or read. This is the Indonesian style.

634 The town of Ende is the only main town in the state. There is another state in the mountains, Lio, with a radja at Wolowaru. Then to the east is Sikka, with a radja, and east of that Larantuka, also with a radja. To the west of here is the Radja of Nageh Keo, and to the west of that the Radja of Ngada, at the capital

764 kampongs with plazas and tombs all over. The latter are usually rectangular stone piles with flat covers, which are evidently lifted in
342 order to put in more bodies. Some of the houses have high pitched roofs coming down to the floor on all sides. They appear to be hooded, and are rather ragged inasmuch as they use alang-alang grass for thatch. Some houses are simpler and follow a more usual design, but all have a different look from those in, for
[531] example, Celebes or Ambon. I saw no gaba-gaba here, but rice stalks are used in the same way and they look like narrower gaba-gaba strips. I
[778] asked at one kampong if they had pusaka houses, and the answer was yes.

[782] I have seen no offering posts yet. I stopped
797 to talk with the priest at Ndetosoko. He was named Nalles and has a church and school and is starting to plant coffee for the church. The nearby kampongs look pagan to me, but he says that about half of the population in these villages have been converted. It is the usual story: the older ones stay pagan. I talked
121 quite a while with him and he advised my choos-
124 ing a kampong near Wolowaru. We then went back toward Ende, and at 7 km. out we stopped at Roworeke. It is on the side of the road, and then we stopped at another kampong, Watu Roga. The whole place looked ideal, with old style houses, tombs in the plaza, primitive looking folk, etc., and it is all very near Ende. We talked with a couple of the men, and they said that the kapitan (district chief) was in the garden at kilometer 10. We said we would come back later. I decided to take this kampong, or rather this double kampong.

634 In the afternoon we went to see the Ende radja.
124 There was a large gathering there including five Chinese, two hadjis (one kapitan of Nggobe, the northern half of Ende town, and the other from

632 The kapitan of Ambu Nggobe, whom I met in a new hadji costume before, is a rather oldish one. Ariens says he has the most power of any-
123 one in Ende. The guru is a hard, pushing, Christian type, who has lost the old respect forms and feels superior to all the others. This guru kept trying to find out whether we[1] were Catholics, but we didn't tell him.

At last we went back to the kampong but stopped
191 off in a fine village near where the Kilimutu road leaves the main road. I forget the name. It has
[142] handsome women, proto-Malay type, who are ruined
[276] by betel. The men too are pretty good looking. Some of the children are very intelligent. I asked about the language situation and the guru said that only the schooled ones speak Malay anywhere in Ende. Thus the old ones do not, but this is not entirely so as some of the old ones who were never schooled are able to speak Malay.

342 In this kampong the houses as usual are roofed
343 with alang-alang thatch. There are many barns, which are small and have roofs which go to the
764 floor. The graves are in the plaza. One was
178 very large and of massive stone situated under a roof. It was the grave of an important ancestor. Others were of usual stone piles and slabs. One burial was set up last month, as it said on a wooden cross set up on top of the old style stone slab grave. The bodies here are laid out in a R lying down position in the stone cists. From later evidence in Roworeke I think that many individuals may be placed in one grave. They lift the slab, move over the old bones, and set the new body in. In the old days they would put the body wound up with gemutu ropes in a tree until the whole thing rotted. Then the bones were placed in a box which in turn was placed in the cist. A rather long time ago the government made the people here dispose of the bodies at once.

[1] [i.e., Kennedy & Kattenburg--Analyst]

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778 They agreed that Ndoeria had rebuilt many rumah
pemali. I must go there sometime.
574 Back in Roworeke, the kapitan gave us sweet
soft drinks and port wine (Chinese). Then he put
291 on his adat dress, including a batik headcloth
386 which was winged in front, and a fine ikat slen-
[287] dang, and a woven sarong. There seems to be no
more tapa around here. The colors of the woven
and ikat stuff are dark, including blue, black,
and dull red. They are not very attractive, and
the cloth is quite heavy. I saw women with bas-
kets full of leafy stuff (small leaves) and I
asked what was inside. They said tarum [indigo]
and that it is used to make the blue and black
dye. Thus they still use locally made dyes,
but in Roworeke the red dye is bought in a store.
126 I took a picture of the kapitan and his wife
and family including the fine type old mother.
621 We then started on a tour of the kampong. We
went first across the road to Watu Roga. It is
small and evidently most of the Wanda suku are.
342 There is one large house, but most of the others
178 are rather small. They are not of the high
pitched roof type. I was told that before the
war there were more of the old high roof type,
but the Japanese leveled many of them to make the
people move into the hills as they said the popu-
lation was too dense near the town. I can't
quite get the point, but new houses tend to be
low, four sloped roofed, rather long and squat
in type, but still look primitive because of the
alang-alang thatched roof and many with the coco-
nut leaf midrib walls. The walls, however, are
usually low or invisible because they are under
the low-hanging roof. Hence they are hooded.
349 In Watu Roga there is a high concrete struc-
769 ture looking something like a watchtower with
614 steps leading up. It has a four-sloped tin roof.
766 There is a low wall around a small rectangular
space under the roof. The flooring is of tile,

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349 set on the rafters a similar chest with bones of
766 the old ancestor of the Odja suku. I was told
769 that this has been there for hundreds of years,
614 but then it was reckoned that it had been there
621 for at least seven generations. It too was
covered with ikat clothing. There was no drum
in this one. They said that when the ancestor
suku feast is held, hundreds of people gather
here and buffaloes are killed, as was true in
the other place. All around are many other stone
cist tombs, all graves of descendants of the big
342 Odja. There are some high houses here, but most
of them are lower in construction.

286 In Padjambu we saw many women spinning and
weaving. One girl was pressing cotton fluff on
a primitive wooden wringer arrangement in order
to flatten it before spinning. It looked just
like an old-fashioned clothes wringer. We saw
an old woman preparing the loom threads in the
first stage of ikat work. The white threads were
wrapped with fiber windings. We saw several ikat
sarongs, all of which were heavy and dull in
[435] color. The kapitan said that I could buy one for
[181] fl. 150.00 and another for fl. 250.00. This
again shows the grasping character of these folk.

123 I forgot to say that the kapitan wants to go
to Larantuka with us. I refused to let him go
along. Also, at the Odja ancestral bone bundle
tower an old mother said we had to leave an offer-
ing. We left some cigarettes. Perhaps they
wanted money.

286 These ikat things are all over. I don't like
386 them very much, but they are genuine. The cotton
531 is grown locally and is pressed and spun. The
dyes are blue and black and are made from indigo
leaves. The ikat work is done with ties of fiber.
[438] Indeed, the only trade material used here is the
red dye they buy in the stores. They also weave
regular cloth, but the colors are always dull.
The designs are small and indecisive.

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778 I asked if there were no rumah pemali here. They then called it rumah berhala and said that there was none in either Watu Roga or Roworeke. They said there is one at kilometer 17, two kilometers up on a hill. It is the rumah berhala of Wolofea. They said that in it are many pictures painted by the ancestors and that it is big. The people who care for it live nearby. I would like to see this and may have the time to do so.

142 On this tour we saw plenty of good looking folk, especially the proto-Malay female type. Some were handsome. Many were bare to the waist.
736 Many were children. The kapitan said there are many orphans here, perhaps ten per cent of the children, because so many die. They are taken care of by others.

721 They said there used to be lots of wars here.

●342 Then we went back to the kapitan's house and thence took the secretary along the road to Ende, and along this road are Aibod and Aiutu. The latter is a magnificent place with high houses. They said that this is because the Japanese did not level them in this place. This is the best
634 house area. The secretary went to his section,
621 Wolomere, on the Watu Roga side of the road.
578 Just beside the kapitan's house is an upright stone. It is said to be the boundary marker between Watu Roga and Roworeke. However, it is in from the road on the Roworeke side. Evidently, from his statement, although the road is the boundary of Lio and Ende states, Watu Roga has a slice on the Roworeke side of the road in Ende territory. This shows again the senselessness of putting any of Watu Roga in Lio. He said that there were many disputes, and when he ascended to the kapitan post he would put a marker up and then put his house half in Watu Roga territory and half in Roworeke. Thus he is "neutral." This again
[181] seemed to show up rivalry and the disputatious nature of these people.

Wae

000 population of seven hundred. Some of the houses
342 are large, but most of them are simple. All ex-
343 cept the barns are not built on piles. The roof
513 overhangs. It is made of alang-alang grass thatch. Beneath it is a small plated-walled in area where there is a large bench for sleeping. There is also a bale-bale [sleeping bench] under the roof and often in front too. Here sit the women while they work. If there are two families to a house, one sleeps on one end of the bench and the
[417] other on the other. There is no partition. This
364 kampong is not fenced in as is Leloba, and the
231 pigs run all over. This is an illustration of
797 what the mission does. It keeps the kampong
872 clean. In Wailolong there is a school of three
346 grades with two teachers. There is also a chapel as in other kampongs. The church to which everyone here goes on Sunday is in Riangkamië, but since this was burned they go to one farther off.
[771] The people here seem to be more on the pagan
144 side, although the racial mixture is about the
142 same. It is notable how most of them are standard Negroid, but many, especially the women, are nearly white and Caucasoid. Many children have brown hair or hair which is partly brown.

[249] Cotton is grown locally and is pressed and
286 spun here. They spin thread on wheels as in Ende,
531 and also can spin with a spindle as they walk along. They weave on the regular horizontal back-bar loom. The colors of the woven cloth are blue and black mostly. The designs are even poorer than those in Ende. All is ikatted. And the
[562] cloth is very heavy. Different designs are used for men and for women. They say that a cloth takes a year to make.

463 There are evidently no (or nearly no) crafts-
411 men here, and everyone is a farmer. I see many men with spears, but have not yet seen a bow. A
304 few old people, it seems especially the women, have a little tattooing, and the guru says this

was more common formerly. The tattooing occurs on the arms, face, and chest. In Tandjung Bunga there is a lot of tattooing. Sometimes this is done on the back of the calves too. The young people do it no longer. However, the guru's daughter has her name tattooed on her arm.

The houses have upright sticks at the ridge ends, but the guru says this is of no significance.

Stones called nubanara are all over the kampong, lying flat mainly. I wonder if maybe these could have been used for graves in this kampong before, because the nubanara are scattered like the graves in Ende.

At the top of the kampong is the korke of the kampong, and in front is a nama, or rectangular dance place. This consists of a platform built up of stones. Some of the stones should stand (four, one for each of the main suku; but the guru says there may be more than four standing). This appears in Vatter's[1] photo of another nama. These former uprights here have fallen down and he says the people do not bother to erect them again. This is a sign of the steady breakdown of paganism. On the dance place there is an old drum left standing. It is evidently no longer used. The korke is empty, and has merely a bale-bale under a roof. No walls are left. The roof has not been repaired, which again may show the breakdown. Near the korke is a large house of the tuan tanah of the main suku, and near this is the korke of his suku. In addition to the kampong korke, there is one for each suku, but no nama in front of these. These korke are used by the kepala suku, who is also the tuan tanah of the suku, for suku rites regarding rain illness, etc. The main korke is used for kampong rites. When a feast is thus given, the big men sit on the bale-bale in the korke, and the dancers perform in front to the music of a drum and gong.

[1] [See bibliography, cat.113--Analyst]

We Then we went to
614 the boys' house in Wailolong, which turned out to
882 be a windowless house with sleeping benches in-
562 side. Here the boys from about twelve years on
●[342] sleep. Thus there is a real men's house here. There are three, I think, in Wailolong, because some of the suku share houses. Normally the rule is one house per suku. It is taboo for the girls to enter these men's houses.

124 Then we went to Leloba and began on the Vatter[1] social organization material. They were delighted to see the Vatter book, especially Roy who noticed his name in it.

614 I started with the usual outline of groups and got the following list of suku and subdivisions and sub-subdivisions of the suku. I had told the guru yesterday that there must be a sub-subdivision, but he said no. He said he had thought it over and understood what I meant. The names
[171] often have direct references to parts of a house, and thus it looks like, as in Ambon, there used to be one suku to one house. Thus Ama Marang Do(ng) Lau(ng) means (the last words) bale-bale laut, i.e., in the old days the ancestors used to sleep on the bale-bale part on the sea side of the ancestral house they shared with the other division. Therefore, Ama Marang Do(ng) Rae(ng), which means bale-bale darat, or the bale-bale on the land side, was for the other division. The former has more power than the latter.

614 As for the recurring Lango' Bele', it means
565 big house, while the twin term Lango' Kene'
788 means small house. The former is the section of the subsib or ama, with more power. The latter is the section with less power. Maki(ng) means descendants. The whole system has reference to the rank of the sibs, which is symbolized in ritual animal killing. Thus Kottang holds the head and is the chiefly or head suku normally. The symbol is the head. Keleng holds the feet, and they are the assistant suku to the head.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We. The houses in the oldest negri lama were
342 very large. A whole group of perhaps five fami-
178 lies could live in one. The new style houses,
592 without the "cage" inside and the hooded roof,
are easier to keep clean and are better in
general. Most of the houses built today are
166 of the new style. Very few move around in the
kampong, and even fewer move out of or into
the kampong.

There is extremely little if any migration from one community to another here.

484 Traveling is done for only very short dis-
829 tances, and they know nothing about areas beyond Larantuka.

20 The kakang has the only telephone here. There is no telegraph. There is no mail service. There is no postman. The priest has a battery radio, but he lives in Riangkamië. Rumor is a very strong thing here, and when the
[727] Japanese were entering the story spread that
[797] they were going to kill all Christians, but not Mohammedans. Many thought it would be good to change their religion and wear a songko.

829 They agree that as their children learn
186 about the world at large the position of the
769 local area sinks in importance. But very few people have much knowledge about the world. This is really the lowest place I have been in yet. Most of the people are strongly attached to their own kampong, and the ancestor cult is very important in localism.

721 Small wars are still carried on, although
578 large ones as in the old days are forbidden by
423 the Dutch. The traditional ally of Wailolong
609 is Leloba. The traditional enemy of Wailolong is Riangkamië, and about fifteen years ago they had a war with Riangkamië. Leloba is now at war with Waibalun, but Riangkamië is also an enemy. The wars are always over borders. The
609 guru says that this is because there is not
423 enough land and that this is also why no aliens

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796 done in an excited pagan style, although on the
535 occasion of a Christian festival. We saw
144 clearly the difference between East and West Flores as far as racial composition is concerned. As you pass into Lio hills the proto-Malay becomes much more marked, though the Negroid element is still there. Some of the women are remarkably white. Such women are seldom or never seen in East Flores.

797 About the Malay here: When they want to say someone is converted, in Larantuka, they say that he "ikut Rom" [follows Rome]. The titles
554 are interesting: the territorial priest of
793 Flores is Tuan Regionale; then there are the Tuan Boswesen, Tuan Landbouw, Njonja HPB, Njonja AR (Assistant Resident), Njonja and Tuan Bestuur (Bestuurshoofd), and for a nun
[792] they do not use Njonja, but Tuan Zuster.
647 Note: The Controleur here is C. B. Arriens.

342 Although there is a general similarity in house style all over East and Central Flores, there are differences. The tremendous high roofs are typical of Lio and Ende. The flat and large four-sloped ridges are found in Larantuka, and in between, in Sikka and Tana Ai, there is an intermediate form, with the four-slope ridge a bit on the rounded off side, and the whole thing appears to be smaller.

411 In East Flores especially the bow is still
224 used. We met a large band on Christmas not far
126 from Larantuka with bows and spears. They were coming up from a kampong with a large church. I asked if they were going to war or to hunt, and they said they were going to hunt deer. I took a photograph of them. They are always glad to be photographed. I can hardly take photographs, however, because they all rush in to be included, especially the children.

291 The style of clothing changes from place to
184 place, though here again there is a general

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632- 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are

796 241 574 527 separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes.

[614] [341] 000 And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

R Smaller private rites are held for such
755 cases as illness. A medicine man or woman (and in the example given they said woman; perhaps they are more frequent than men) is called in and magical rites are performed.

582 We got onto the suku exogamy matter, and
614 they said at first that one could marry within
178 the suku if the relationship was at least three generations off. But I pressed this a little further and they seemed less certain. I looked over the list which is now up to No. 190, and I noticed only a single case of endogamy. This proved to be a man from the outside who had been "adopted" by the Odja (he was originally from Lio) long ago. He was still separate, however, and I noticed that although he is still trying to find the name of his suku in the old place, the assistant left the suku slot blank for him and his children. This proved to be a case of no bride price and hence matrilocal residence. Thus there is not a single case of suku endogamy. I suspect that they
[124] are either trying to fool me into thinking they follow only Catholic rules, or else they know the latter and talk about them. Or perhaps they just don't phrase the old rules in the same way any more, although they follow them actually in practice.

124 We got onto the schedule as he has written a few short answers already. They are not bad, but it is evident that thinking and writing are painful for him.

342 Formerly the kampong was much larger than it is today and the houses were bigger by far. They are still large. In regard to migration
166 the situation is not too clear, but it is quite evident that very few people leave. Most of the individuals who go away are police or soldiers who serve in other parts of Flores. There are also a few teachers who serve elsewhere in Flores. They nearly all come back later. Their

487 of dirty, mixed kampongs, and then went up along the cliffs over the sea to Nangapanda. Then the road headed into the mountains, and after
[361] a long stretch which appeared to be practically uninhabited (as usual between the coast and mountain folk, here as in the Toradja country),
797 and finally we arrived in Badjawa. Before we reached Badjawa we saw a large mission station at Todabelu, where there were many modern buildings, a seminary, and a model farm as well as a trade school. All of these were notably advanced over anything else we have seen in Flores. As usual, it is connected with the
526 mission. In Badjawa there was a great crowd for the day, and football games were held. These are the great sport all over Indonesia now, and it is coming even into the remote kampongs. It is the national sport [i.e., soccer].

We saw here the dirty but spirited Ngada,
291 with dull clothes. The adat dress, however, is striking, especially that of the men. It consists of a dark blue cloak and a red headcloth.
304 We also noted that a lot of the people had filed teeth, and in addition many had blackened them. Earboring is a general practice here, but as usual the younger men may have the holes but no rings. (For example, the assistant in Roworeke is like this and so is the younger guru in Le-
[771] loba.) This is a pretty primitive looking lot, although most of them are Christian.

361 The Ngada kampongs are hard to see as they
342 are nearly all behind bamboo thickets. Ngada houses are rectangular with low hanging hooded roofs. They are built on piles definitely, unlike Ende (or at least most of the houses in
[778] Ende) and Larantuka. In these kampongs there are not many stones that I could see, but as
769 yet I have not seen a kampong fully. Notable
346 are the inverted pyramid-like ancestor houses built on a single post. They are called nadu

[124] arrived after dark. We saw a very clear change
144 in physical type.[1] The Manggarai are clearly proto-Malay with a fair amount of Mongoloid blood in them.

[311] We went down to the coast through the empty
361 land, being burned off in large part, to Aimere.
● 342 Then we went across the wild and jungled peninsula to Mborong. We picked up a small girl from the hospital in Mborong who was going to school in the mountains. She got sick on the way. Then, up in the empty hills again, we saw a tree house on the way. Underneath it were some Mongoloid looking men and they said they were iron workers who were working on a bridge. They sleep in the tree house, which they built
[137] against mosquitoes which are bad here. They were from Ruteng. Later we heard that they have been here for years, "working" on a bridge.

[132] We ran into a terrible fog as we went up and up toward Ruteng. In the evening we attended
[443] the pasar malam, and there in addition to the
[525] gambling was a play with a story about how in-
536 dependence means decency and not rowdiness.
177 It was full of Catholic influence. Between the
533 acts there were instances of poor singing and dancing by a little girl who sang and stepped around and by some sillily dressed boys who went through marching motions to almost inaudible
[534] singing. The orchestra consisted of a violin and a ukelele, nothing else. The band consisted of a few horns. A small child held up the music for the trombone player, who didn't use the slide. The play was incredibly bad. Thus they lose the fine old singing and dancing and drama rites and instead of them they now have these imitation things which are bad beyond belief.

We The next morning we went to the mission and
793 met several priests, including the rector, van
124 Bekkum,[2] who wrote an article on Manggarai art. He was a bearded fellow and not bad. He said

[1] [i.e., the Manggarai vis-a-vis the Ngada--Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

124 the best for us would be the kampong Weol about
[798] 15 km. from Ruteng on a side road which is in pretty good shape. He said it would be hard to get an assistant, and this I see everywhere in Flores. I can get informants, but they cannot write. And so I must get a Christian guru.

361 We then went with van Bekkum and another
565 priest, Smits, to Weol. Below, there is a kampong along the road, and here there is a chapel. This kampong is an offshoot of Weol. Here a couple of kraeng have settled. Above this kampong is Weol, off the road on a high hill, with a rocky path leading up to it. It is a real
342 negri lama. The lower kampong has three round
178 houses, notably large, and although the roof is of alang-alang thatch, the walls are of wood and are new. The name of this kampong is Tjantjar. Formerly, all houses were round, but now all new ones are built in a rectangular shape, and most of them are now built of wood.
142 I note that the people here in Manggarai are better looking than in other parts of Flores.
231 There are many more horses and buffalo here,
241 and even sixty thousand cattle. Agricultural
364 methods are better and so are the houses, and the kampongs are cleaner. There are still some
137 forests here and groves too, so the people can get wood.

778 There is a holy tree in the kampong of Weol,
764 and around it there are stones. Under these the
614 old ancestors are buried. Now, all except a few va'u (clans) bury their dead outside the kampong.
624 I note that the tuan tanah (one per kampong)
771 lives in one of the three round houses. The other two round houses are near his. They form sort of a quarter. The priests say that the tuan tanah must be a pagan, and it is a matter of some concern to the old people to keep at least one boy a pagan as his successor. This is becoming hopeless, because just about all

771 the young folk are Christian. Most of the old
[624] people are largely pagan however. There are
no other obvious signs of pagan religion in
the lower kampong. The same goes for Weol.
342 Here there are more round houses, but the new
ones are all rectangular. At the entrance of
778 the kampong there is a mound which I must ask
about. It looks as though it might have been
a cult hill. Then there is the holy tree and
the stones around it. The photo of the stone
figure, Ine Amba, which Vroklage gives as from
Weol, is really from a kampong which can be seen
across the rice fields.

621 There are many old people here, including two
[624] remarkable old men, one of whom is one of the
two tuan tanah in the kampong. This is a double
kampong, with two main parts, and it has there-
fore two tuan tanah. The children here are
[515] dirty and so are the adults, for the most part.
[231] There are pigs all over. However, the houses
[361] are better spaced than, for example, in Laran-
tuka kampongs. The people here have poor clothes,
[291] and many, especially the women, were seen with
304 filed teeth and some of them with teeth beauti-
fully blackened. We noticed no tattooing nor
cutting.

243 Looking off from the high kampong one can see
the wet rice fields below. These are in wedge
shapes with a common center. There are many
adjacent, star-shaped arrangements. This is
unique in Indonesia. The priest says this is
because it is easier to fence them in this fashion,
but I suspect there is some cosmological signifi-
cance, perhaps reflected in the circular houses
too. The houses have all sorts of decorations
342 on top of them. The round ones seem to have an
531 upright wooden thing on them. The rectangular
ones have at the ridge ends a stylized pair of
wooden horns, often with a bird in the middle,
and some with two birds, one at each horn tip.
1/ [See pp. 890-91 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography
cat. 113--Analyst]

We

592 I heard that there were up to thirty or more
243 people in many of the houses. The complex arrangement of rice fields stretches out far below and here the people work with several
[231] buffaloes. The fields are irrigated but perhaps this is done merely by flooding. I must ask about this. All around here one can see
361 small kampongs in the distance, each with a holy
778 tree. One has a fine big one. They are mainly situated on rises and they are small, for example, Weol has only about thirty houses in it. The priest says that there are many of the stones in kampong Ruteng located about 1½ km. outside of the town. I must see them.

124 The priest says that it is necessary to give
[273] the old men native tobacco and palm wine. The
[276] latter costs fifty sen per unit. I will try to
[435] buy some. I hope to work in the kampong each day, and the guru will bring the table and chairs up. Some days we may work in the chapel. The guru is being taken off the payroll of the
[465] mission for one month and I will pay his salary, which is about fl. 75.00. I will give him about fl. 125. He must hire a coolie to do his garden
342 work which is pressing right now. The wooden
197 houses were introduced here by a priest. The
55 guru seems O.K. He smells, like most of the folk here, including the priests. Bathing is not done very much here.

582 I talked with him a bit and he says it is
614 possible to marry within the clan if the relationship between partners is distant enough. Clans are known as va'u. There are subclans, called panga, and one may marry within these in the same way, according to the guru. I must find out more about this and also get the kin system. We will start tomorrow.

526 In the afternoon we went to another place in the center of the town where they were playing football. A great crowd gathered, and despite

We

614 maybe it is a matter of the older and younger
582 lines. I must check on this. The mandur said
[624] there was no tuan tanah in Ruteng kampong.
Later the assistant said they must have one.

124 In the evening the assistant came to the pasanggrahan and talked with us. He seems to be the best one yet. He knows plenty about the old customs, and Christianity has not caused him to scorn the old ways. He is so enthusiastic that it was hard for us to stop him. We got onto the question of Weol.

178 He said that in the old days there was only
342 one large round house per kampong. The diameter
614 was perhaps twenty meters. If you saw two
624 houses, it meant that there were two va'u. And
582 up until twenty years ago (1927) all tuan tanah
778 lived in round houses. After that, however, a
801 change took place. For example, the tuan tanah of Weol now lives in a rectangular house. In the old clan house there were nine posts, in rows of three. The very center pillar was the main one and here sat the tuan tanah at religious rites. Others ranged around the walls in the front half of the house. The rear section of the house was for the tuan tanah and his family. Other panga had sections around the walls. In the center, behind the main post, was the kitchen. Later, when more than one round house was built in a single kampong, the tuan tanah occupied the main house, and here the main pillar of all was located. This pillar is especially holy, and the setting of it in place requires certain rites, sacrificial animals, etc. Other round houses had nine pillars too. Each house was inhabited usually by one panga, and in each there was a kepala panga, and smaller rites were held at each main pillar.

243 The circular rice field arrangement shows
782 certain similarities here. He says that even
778 now when they begin planting or have some other

We

842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter, they must be repaid.[1] The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a
man buys a child, who then becomes one of his
own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:
582
595

1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is
also a medicine man, and he is important in
ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the
kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the bride price --Analyst]

We

621 or drum. Thus they may speak of his house as
624 the rumah gong-gendang. These instruments are
534 used in the rites, and as tuan tanah he must have
342 them. If there is a branch kampong, the tuan tanah tjabang must get a gong and a gendang from the mother kampong tuan tanah. Thus the gong-gendang is a symbol of power, like the Celebes aradjang.

There have been men who from time to time try to become tuan tanah-like by getting a gong and a gendang. This is not possible, however, as they must come directly from the old tuan tanah. Sometimes a tuan tanah tjabang is not happy in the branch kampong and he may come back to the mother kampong, taking his gong-gendang with
621 him. I think he said that a branch is often
614 caused by the fact that there are two va'u in a kampong, and one may split off and move to a new location. Evidently there is a tendency to keep the rule of one va'u per kampong. Thus I note that he says that the Ruteng kampong, which has two va'u, is having internal trouble between the two. There might be a split off in such a case.

797 He said finally that Catholicism has made
178 just about no change at all in the adat. It stands fast. Maybe here we have a case of greater technical change than in Larantuka or Ende where there has been practically no technical change, but on the other hand, there has been very little change in the adat here, which has been much modified in Larantuka and Ende.
[242] Thus one can see beautiful farming techniques here, and the mission is strong in this type of development. There are also wooden houses with nails (cost about fl. 2000.00 in meat and gift salaries and materials). In Larantuka and Ende the economic conditions remain at the same old miserable level. Thus the mission changes adat and religion a lot in Ende and Larantuka, but only technical changes have occurred here.

000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main
697 tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 The assistant says that all or nearly all
462 men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few,
231 have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 Theory on reading Coolhaas:[2] The Ngada nadu
718 which is for the male ancestors is a small
342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The
173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are
614

[1] [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

769 778 342 173 614 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Manggarai there are two native forms, and he gives the native terms. One is conical and the other rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape. However, the latter is not related to the former. There are areas of the one and the other, and evidently some areas have both. Now, the conical ones seem older, and on any surmise because round houses are simply older in Indonesia. Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers of the seven main voi. And they married men of the land, aborigines, here. The men are the [174] ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that the conical male ancestor houses reflect the patrilineal aboriginal culture and the population stratum which lived in round houses, and the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming, matrilineal population and culture? If so, this says much about the double descent of Ngada, the peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor houses. Now I think I know why there are those amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

173 611 342 563 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is built up more recently, by the younger folk who hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evidence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there are also many evidences of double descent. I remember now that the priests talk much of enclaves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai and East Nageh. They say that the people in these places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mommersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and may explain the umbrella houses.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

614 We get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong are built in the new style, as
198 are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

000 614 592 842 178 have a taboo on lusa. There are two panga here: Rosong and Nggurus. Each panga has two houses, and thus there are four in all. There are more houses, however, and these are of the non-Wol newcomers, especially those from Ruteng. In addition to the four old houses of which two are built in the old style and one in the new style, there are: one round house belonging to the newcomers, mixed; three new style houses of newcomers, mixed. The reason that there are only three original houses is that one of the pangas has people living in a temporary, awful long tumbledown shack, wherein live also some newcomers. This is to be torn down as soon as two new style wooden houses, now under construction, are finished. In one of these will live the newcomers of the shed, and in the other the panga folk now living in the shed. Thus the houses are:

1. Tuan tanah house, new style, panga.
2. Round house panga.
3. Round house panga.
4. Small shed with one family who should live in number 3. It is beside the latter.
5. Round house newcomers.
6. New style newcomers.
7. New style newcomers.
8. Small shed newcomers.
9. Long shed mixed panga and newcomers.

Number 9 will split when the two new houses are finished, and the newcomers will go to one and the panga folk to the other.

342 531 554 624 I asked about the roof ornaments. The horns are pretty clearly a sign of the tuan tanah's house. The other type, the straight upright rod, is an ordinary decoration. Some of the horns have a bird head in the middle, and I have seen birds on the horn tips, but not here. The tuan tanah of Ndung has the horns, but in the center there is a human face.

We

624 In the house of the tuan tanah of Weol there
342 are four households. The tuan tanah has a sec-
592 tion to one side, since the old place in the
554 rear, as in the round house, is impossible be-
534 cause the rear door is located there. He keeps
the gong-gendang, which is the symbol of his
being tuan tanah. One might even call the tuan
tanah house the drum house. These drums are
important, as they are used in agricultural
rites.

778 There are no holy stones (yet see later) in
the kampong here. I hear that there are some in
kampong Ruteng, which I must see. In each kam-
pong there is a tree (the Weol one died some
time ago and was replaced; the new one is rather
small). Around these trees (the assistant knows
nothing of the significance of the tree) are
placed stones. He says they have no magic power,
but in sacred rites animals are sacrificed there
below the tree. In the cleansing of the kam-
pong rite these stones are rearranged nicely.

178 Nowadays it is possible to marry in or out
582 of the clan. It is also possible to marry
614 within or without the kampong, and the kampong
[621] usually consists of one clan. But even now one
may not marry in the same panga. Thus there is
lineage exogamy.

Formerly clans too were exogamous, but in
special cases one might marry in, for example,
if the girl became pregnant. Evidently there
were other cases too. But since about fifty
years ago endogamous marriages within the clan
have been possible. Nevertheless, most marriages
are outside of the clan. The first case of clan
endogamy in Weol kampong involved the parents of
the present tuan tanah. This occurred fifty
yeargs ago. He said that they cannot remember
what trouble was ceused if any. The assistant
has heard tales of evil following such cases of
endogamy. I must follow this up. What has

524 In the afternoon on the alun-alun in Ruteng we saw a bamboo-clapping game. Two parallel bamboos were placed on the ground, and squatting behind them, facing each other, were two pairs of women. Each pair held two bamboos in their hands. These bamboos were placed athwart the lying bamboos. In unison they banged the bamboos three times against the sticks which were lying down, and on the fourth beat clapped them together, sliding them across on the sticks. Then the girl tried to hopscotch between the moving bamboos so that her ankles would not get caught on the clapping together of the long horizontal bamboos. The clapping went faster and faster--one, two, three, four --until she got caught. A man tried it too, and then some others. This is unique [actually [171] rather widespread in southeast Asia, for example, in Hainan, Philippines, Indo-China]. The mandur said they usually do this in moonlight with long rows of clappers, and with several pairs, male and female, doing the hopscotch stuff. They also have this in Larantuka and Ende.

824 Teno does not mean tanah, the latter being the same in Manggarai. Teno means the kind of wood used for the lodok post. Hence, tu'a teno.

342 531 237 [171] On the house ridge of the tuan tanah of Ndung between the wooden buffalo horns is a human head of wood. Could this be related to the Toradja use of human heads berween horns, and also connected with the horn headdresses of the dancers and whippers here? The horns are used only on the houses of the tuan tanah. On other houses different decorations are used. The horns indicate that there is a drum located in the house on which they are placed.

114 Notes from Mennes (Koloniaal Tijdschrift, XX, 1931; (1), 384-390): 1

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

361 kampong, or rather two suku living there, one
614 living on the level of the road and the other
621 a bit down the hill to the rear. However, they are adjacent. The two suku are Naru and Lodo.
[211] At the road border of the kampong a bit in from the road, standing against the skyline, is a row of tall roughly chiseled stone pillars looking like gigantic stone age scrapers or axe heads. They are thin and tall. They are set on a rectangular stone mound. Surrounding the
[417] kampong is a raised stone border as is typical of all kampongs in this region, so that the kampong itself is located down in a stone wall enclosure.

346 Below the first row of stone pillars there
769 is another with just as many stones. It is also
531 set on a mound. Just below this stands the umbrella-like ndaru for male ancestors, and on one side there is a living tree with Y-branches at the fork. Stones are heaped around the ndaru and tree. The ndaru is about twelve feet high, and consists of a single pillar with thatched cap. The pillar is made of hebuh wood and is carved in fancy designs which are hard to make out. It also has eyes, a nose and a mouth (on another one, in Brova, the eyes were made of white shell). Looking under the cap I could see that the pillar forks were in the shape of a U, and so it is really about the same as the Nagoh peo, but less clearly Y-shaped and covered with a cap.

342 To either side of the plaza, which was of
361 earth, stood a line of houses, which were small and had rather low roofs. These houses are set on piles. On one side was the house of the
624 mori ndaru, who is also the kepala kampong.
769 The mori ndaru is the highest man, like the tuan
346 tanah, and he is the one who sets up the ndaru.
565 There can be more than one ndaru per kampong.
554 Evidently any bangsawan can give a feast in
574

624 565 554 769 346 574 [782] order to set up a new ndaru, and thus increase his fame. However, a common man cannot do this. Buffaloes must be sacrificed on such occasions. Also, buffalo sacrifices are needed for putting a new roof on the ndaru. There is a "younger" mori ndaru who lives on the other side of the plaza. This has some relation to the elder and younger brother stuff mentioned in the manuscript report on Soa by a priest. Mommersteeg[1] has lent me this report. The mori ndaru house 342 624 532 has a wood post in front, on either side beside the steps. They are rather thin and low and are carved in a human form. This is known as the ata deo, or rather these are the ata deo.

342 531 [171] Also, beside the door of the house and on the porch are two richly carved wooden rectangles measuring about 3x2 feet. This looks like the Balinese stuff and consists mainly of scrolls so far as I could see.

237 342 531 Not only on the houses of the mori ndaru but also on others, we noted many lower jaws of pigs, wild pigs with tusks, deer horns, and buffalo horns. These are partly ranged along a rack under the roof eaves and partly, especially true of the buffalo horns, stuck in beside the wall of the porch. We later found out that the ata deo may be used by others than the mori ndaru, but evidently the carved wood slabs are only for him. I saw some especially elaborate lower jaw carvings on a barn in Brova.

346 231 [624] In the lower kampong, Lodo, which has a low stone wall between it and Naru, there is the house of the mori ndaru (thus each suku, voi, has a mori ndaru, and there may be more than one per kampong) and the rest of the things just mentioned. The ndaru there, however, has a worn-out roof, and when I asked why there had been no renewal they said that they would do so, but they would have to get the buffalo first.

[1] [pastor at Soa -- Analyst]

342 Also, Lodo seems poorer in general and has fewer and less spectacular stone pillars. Many of the houses here have double front porches, one behind the other.

346 769 237 224 Each of the two sections or kampongs has a female ancestor house, called a bhaga. It is a simple rectangular small house inside of which are many horns, jaws, and a fireplace with an earthen base and three stones on it. Cooking is done therein during feasts. I can see here many clear reminiscences of a hunting level. For example, the jaws seem to indicate this. [171] This is just like Mentawei, and, for that matter, Punan. And the people here still do a lot of hunting. They also have hunting rites.

582 614 The mori ndaru and kepala kampong of Naru is easy to talk with, and he said that they may marry in and out of the voi, but such marriages must be within the same turunan, i.e., there are evidently larger groupings of voi. He said, for example, that the people of Lodo and Naru could intermarry, because they were all descended from Naru. 776 784 124 824 769 I got a real rise when I asked him about the bapu, i.e., the spirit in the hebuh tree who is also thus in the ndaru, which must have its post made from the hebuh tree. I read that the name of bapu was taboo and they said that indeed this was true, that formerly there was no mention made of it. They still regard this somewhat secretly and looked shiftily when I mentioned it.

782 346 531 342 When there is a sacrifice they must always smear some blood on the ndaru. The house of the mori ndaru, and any other house which has the elaborate carvings (which are evidently a sign that the owner has built a ndaru) are called soa wadjo. The report I have says that wadjo [789] means strong and also having a sense of magic power.

582 565 When I asked about marriage rules, they were

632 Then we went to Soa, which is a kepala mere
361 district, with the kepala mere at Brova. It is
435 a complex of nearby kampongs set in a rich
433 plain. It is warm here, as it is in a valley.
Alfons says that this is the richest part of
Ngada, with plenty of agriculture and lots of
animals. (The lowest price of a horse here is
fl. 100.00 and for a buffalo fl. 80.00. The
[262] lowest price for a dog, which is eaten as a
great delicacy, is fl. 10.00. Prices go much
higher.

We had to go off the road on a path over
361 which no car had gone for many years. We went
224 to the church of Mommersteeg, but he was not in.
The kampong nearby was Masu, but there are lots
of others, making almost a metropolitan area.
All these people are Nageh, outlyers here in
Ngada territory. These are the ones that have
occasional big hunting rites, and they do a lot
[237] of hunting. I note many jaws here, especially
those of tusked wild pigs in addition to the
deer horns. The only time the people here get
515 water on their bodies is when it rains and once
574 a year when all the kampongs in turn have the
great deli feast, at which time men splash water
on the women and vice versa.

346 In the center of these kampongs one sees
769 mostly the real forked and uncapped peo, but
778 some have the ndaru, perhaps taken over from the
532 Ngada. The peo is set on a stone mound. There
are other stone mounds too. There are no watu
lewa, the long pillars of the Ngada, however.
There are sacred trees here too. The peo are
carved, and it was at Brova that I saw the fine
shell eyes set in a peo.

342 We walked around this kampong and a few
624 others. They had stone enclosures and the
532 houses of the mosi ndaru (but a different name
417 is used here, I think). They also have the
000 carved wooden slabs, and the ata deo too. Every-

243 Every-
251 where around the earthen plaza there are corn drying racks set upright on tall piles. They looked very high and impressive.

126 I took a good photo of an old man before the peo of Masu.

342 Then we went to the kampong of the kepala
764 mere at Brova. His house was a good stucco one
769 though in native style. A large cement covered
346 tomb of his father was in front, and beside it were two great slabs set upright. In the center of the plaza was a finely carved peo with shelleyes. It was set in cement.

From here we went back to Badjawa, and thence
132 to Ende, going all of the way in rain. However,
124 when we reached Nangba, eight kilometers from Ende, the river was in a wild flood because of two days rain in the mountains. Therefore we had to stay overnight at the house of a former kapitan of Rukuramba. His younger brother is
[181] the present scribe. The former kapitan has the oily and cringing manner of the Endenese. He
144 is a rather old and handsome man. Here I see the Negroid element beginning. (The Radja of Nageh-Keo is a proto-Malay, but with dark skin.)

632 The kapitan gave us the usual "line" about
648 how the United States is so rich that it must
634 help Indonesia. I am getting tired of this.
578 He also was very troubled about how he was de-
771 posed by the Radja for the Mohammedan kapitan. He constantly brings up the case with the government, but he says that the Mohammedan Radja and his cronies are taking everything. There is only one Christian kapitan left in Ende (Rewaranga). He said the great majority of gemeente Rukuramba are Christian, and when he was removed from office there were nearly no Mohammedans.
634 However, the Radja and his group are now moving
166 Mohammedan settlers in and giving them land.
361 There are more than four hundred here now. And now they are asking the Christians to move up

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000 since then there have been no wars.

614 574 632 624 The great suku feasts are a kind of refresher of the gemeente bond, as all the suku of the area come and feast and pledge friendship. Thus, if Odja has a suku feast for repairing the grave-bones shrine, the other five big suku (and also others who are invited) attend. (The five are Rewarangga, Nggonggora'ba, Reandona, Wanda, and Gusa-Tibo). Thus the suku feasts are gemeente affairs as well as of a genealogical group. The mosa laki mere must be present at all such feasts, even though it is not of his own suku. Incidentally, he is the same man as the kolu, mentioned by Suchtelen[1] as the "tuan tanah." This kolu word is evidently used especially in his function as an agricultural priest. Thus he is an adat judge and agricultural priest at the same time. The mosa laki mere involved is the mosa laki mere of the kampong involved; thus here he is the big one, as the kampong mosa laki mere of Worowai-Roworeke is also the mosa laki mere of the gemeente.

[237] [342] [178] He gets the lower jaws of all the sacrificed animals. Nowadays he throws them away after eating, but formerly all bones from such occasions were kept and were put on the houses. Thus there is a clear relation involved between the jaws on the Ngada houses of the tuan tanah there and such occasions (and distantly to the Mentawei and Punan animal jaws). Note that he gets the lower jaws.

538 533 [124] As for legends and stories of the past, at first they said that they have none, or rather that they had forgotten what they might have had. I prodded on and told them about the Balai Pustaka man getting stories of Indonesia for schools. They loosened up a bit, and it seems that they do have plenty. I instructed the assistant to get a few as samples. They said

[1] [See p.70 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography cat.13--Analyst]

War

barn rites, with only the ama tuno wudjo and members present. All of this is done in order to make the rice in the fields perfect. The other great ritual complex of an agricultural nature is at harvest time, and they may have a third type if there is an especially good harvest (like the thanksgiving feasts of the Toradja).

I asked about the saoniwang, the magic stones which are in front of the houses of all suku and ama chiefs. Some have disappeared in Leloba and have not been replaced, but most of them are still there. For example, the guru has the mother stone before his house, and one child stone, but other child stones are used for foundations of houses. They are inserted with many other stones in the masonry, but he pointed to the specific ones. These saoniwang, like the nubanara, which are placed in front of the korke, are the big ones in the heap, the mother, and the little ones, her children. They hold the magic power of the chiefs, and without them there is no power. Nevertheless, in Leloba, even when the chief has no more stones, he still holds some power, as if they were still there. The guru has three for his house, for war power, marriage power, and power among suku, respectively. One of these is in the hills behind. This, he says, has tremendous power. He says such things seriously.

[773] These stones suddenly appeared long ago. They came down from heaven after, or rather with a heavy rain. Thus they are like the descendance stones of, for example, Goa. Sao means anchor and so does niwang. Thus the meaning is that the power and with it the group or man holding it are firmly and inextrically tied to this land. However, all sorts of stones are believed to have power. Many of them are very little. Thus the kakang has a

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178 In terms of technology and occupation, there
463 have been very few changes. They still farm
in the old way, and there have been no new jobs
● 342 created. There are today such houses as the
178 kapitan's, with a bit of cement work. This is
354 new. And every house has a pelita /a kind of
lamp/ for which they buy kerosene. Few of
them have any real lamps like the kapitan's.
The assistant has one, but it is typically out
291 of order. Shirts here are new, but they are
178 rare and cost much. Shoes are new here and
[413] are very rare. Pens, etc., are extremely rare.
The women no longer wear the homespun blouses.
They wear homespun sarongs like the men do,
but buy kebaya of thinner cloth today.

286 They cannot make thin cloth with their
looms, and this is a great handicap. What
they make is too heavy. This is mainly a mat-
ter of thread. They can't spin thread any
thinner than they do and have it strong enough
so that it will not break in the loom. Thus,
if they could get trade thread, they might be
able to weave thinner cloth (?).

[346] The only tin roofs are on the grave-bone
shrines of Odja and Wanda.

Every woman spins thread and weaves. There
are no specialists, however, who sell cloth.
This is done only rarely.

463 There are no smiths or specialists of any
326 kind. There were about twenty men who worked
563 at making pots here, and this started evidently
about two years ago. It was a Chinese company
(evidently tied in with the Radja some way),
and these lads worked in their spare time. As
there are no orders now, they are working
there no longer. It is not a native craft.

241 The most important local agricultural crop
and food source is maize, by far. Then come
rice, vegetables, and yams. There is no sago;
000 they have never heard of it. Little meat is

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243 he came back, he at once made a sawah, and the
177 others saw that it was good. Now, everyone
788 plants at least one sawah. Formerly there were no sawah. This is an excellent case of acculturation via the hadj.

412 Formerly the people here did not use hoes
177 or shovels. These came in at the time of the Dutch entry. Before that they had an iron tipped digging stick only. There are no carts.
493 They thought about my proposal for a group to buy one as an investment for hiring. Perhaps there is too little money even to pay for a bicycle here.

352 There are no tables, chairs, or lamps, ex-
354 cept in rare houses like the kapitan's. The
178 only new thing is the kerosene wick, not the lamp. It is called pelita.

342 The house type has changed here from a
178 larger to a smaller structure, and many of the old style roofs are still to be seen.

291 Women now use bought cloth to make thin
178 kebaya. Formerly they made blouses of homespun, but these are all gone. Men and women still wear homespun sarongs. Men wear this alone and are usually bare above the waist. If a man wears a selendang, he is a big man. If he wears a shirt, this is really very slick attire. There were no shoes here at all before, and few now.

301 Men and women wore earrings before, the men
753 ones of gold (look like silver) which the pagans still wear, and the women ones of a different
[304] style. The assistant's ears are pierced, but this is no longer done to the boys, only to the girls. Beads are worn by men and women on festive occasions. These are great ceremonial objects and are worn by the people who are proud of them. If one is not entitled to them, he will become sick if he wears a string of beads.

217 statistics are available for all of the people), but the pastor puts names down in the church book. There is not even a registry of births and deaths (as I think there is in Larantuka and Ende), but each year for taxes a census is taken, by asking how many children there are in a house, etc. I see that one could easily have a continuous census in most parts of Indonesia, as the units are so small, and the hierarchy of administration is so close knit. The kepala [622] kampong knows everything in his kampong, and the kepala kampongs could report to the kepala district, and so on up.

583 I noticed a case of a little girl of seven living in a house with her father's sister, who has a son. I asked, could this be a case of having already paid the price for this little girl? That is, has he already "taken possession of the goods"? He said that he didn't know, but said that this happens here (i.e., an early payment of the bride price for a little girl). This happens even when the girl is as young as five years. I must check on this case.

178 I talked with van Bekkum[1] about Kattenburg's
● 342 notion that in Manggarai, economy has advanced, but adat holds, whereas in other parts, economy has not changed but adat has changed. He thinks this is not a bad idea. And then he gave cases of how houses are rapidly becoming changed to the new type, and the old round ones are almost dying out. Also the way wet rice fields are [241] spreading is most rapid, as is the spread of the use of the buffalo in agriculture. Note how, even in the new rectangular houses, if there is a rite held, the tuan tanah sits in the high spot, and although there is no more a center post, they put a stick up where it should be. (I can't help but think that the lodok must be linked with the center post of the old round houses, and I wonder if perhaps the wedges of

[1] [i.e. pastor at Ruteng--Analyst]

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178 the fields might not have been arranged like the
●342 places of the various panga or families in the old round houses. If so, it is beautiful.

592 The assistant says that in the old days when
614 perhaps all of one kampong lived in a single house, the panga were like families therein. That is, since then the panga have expanded into subclans.

632 I asked if perhaps, before 1870, the tu'a
622 tenu gelarang might not have been the highest
152 chiefs except for the alien Bima sultan. He thinks that this is probably so, as there was no dalu until 1870. Then I asked if maybe even yet the tu'a tenu gelarang might not really be more of a real head to the people than the dalu. He said that in the district, in all adat matters, especially land cases, the tu'a tenu was indeed supreme. And even the dalu would not dare to tread on his power in these respects. Then I asked if the dalu were all of Bima origin. He said he thinks so, but that the people are afraid to say so. I asked if any of them have family trees, and he said they must have them. Then I caught him, as I reminded him that his wife was of the "dalu" bangsawan! I asked if her ancestors were aliens. He, embarrassed, said yes, they are said to have been. She is of the Rahong dalu bangsawan. I pressed the case by asking whether her ancestors came from Bima. He said that it is said they were from Pulo Rintja! This is a practically uninhabited island between Flores and Komoda!

This remark about being afraid to say anything about the dalu led me to remark that Manggarai seemed to be a part of Flores which was always under alien rule. He looked a little startled, but saw the point. Evidently, any mention of these "imperialist" matters causes a fear reaction. This came out when I asked if perhaps the tuan tanah was really more powerful

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632 622 152 than the dalu. This, it seems, is the kind of thing that is not discussed!

I must get the dalu relationship straight.

634 I asked if there was really a Radja of Riung, and he said yes. He is on the same level as, for example, Nageh. He said that there has been a radja there for a long time. The radja there now is a Ngada, but the folk there are mainly Manggarai. The houses there are mostly 342 178 the old rectangular type (not the new style rectangular type which is coming in now) of East Manggarai. The round house area is West Manggarai, although there are round houses in East Manggarai too.

I noted that one of the three round houses in Ndung is going to be torn down shortly. Thus the new type house, which came in only about ten years ago, is swiftly replacing the round ones everywhere. I asked if, since originally Ndung 622 was a branch kampong of Weol, the tuan tanah there was not less in prestige than the tuan tanah of Weol. He said that in theory they are the same, but indeed the tuan tanah of Weol was like the older sibling.

614 114 It seemed to me that the va'u here are very large (e.g., va'u Weol has over two gelarang), and I told him so. He agreed and in fact said that he has found that there is a still larger genealogical unit (I must ask about this; maybe it is like the isi that Arndt denies, but that Staveren says is found in Ngada above the voi there). On the way back to Weol I saw a buffalo 685 with one of its rear legs hanging nearly off with a deep cut behind the knee. I was shocked and asked how it had happened. He said that the buffalo had broken into someone's garden and that the owner of the garden, who had become angry, had crippled the buffalo. He said that this is done frequently here. I can see how a feud could be started in this way.

½ [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

War

346 there will be illness and all sorts of troubles.
824 They beat the gongs and drums to keep the wood
533 satisfied and I suppose to make it think that
776 the work is going on. Also, I notice that a few men carry planks up now and then to the rafters, perhaps making as though they were carrying on the work. Meanwhile a delegation is in Ruteng to persuade the carpenters to return. The situation is desperate, and perhaps the folk regret having argued with the tukang in the first place. They must "make the wood cool," they say. This is dramatic.

I also noted that a pig was being skinned in the shed nearby. This is for the workers, but it had been ritually killed with prayers, etc. The drum and gong rhythms constantly changed, and the girls are really clever. This
[562] is beautiful stuff. There are beats which are peculiar to men and women, and also some which are used by both. These people are really virtuosos. All day the women sit thus, doing their duty by the wood spirit.

There is a main post in the rectangular house too, and when it is set in, animals are killed and blood is placed in the hole.

342 Until about ten years ago all houses here
178 were round. Today there are very few of the
346 old round houses left. Cornelius[1] says there is scarcely a single tuan tanah round house left, because everyone must contribute to the cost of a new one, and when they build one they want one that will be a strong rectangular type so that it will last for a long while. The cost of
[435] this new type tuan tanah house is nearly fl. 3000.00 in addition to the free labor contributed. Each family contributes to the cost and also gives animals for the workers, ceremonies, etc. It is a big thing.

342 I went into one of the two round houses left
178 in Tjantjar. It is a bit different from the

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

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342 old type, because it has low wooden walls, where-
178 as the old ones had the walls to the floor. The first change was thus, and within ten years the rectangular house is sweeping the country.

342 Inside this house (and before we entered the
[592] man worried as he said perhaps I would tell the police that there were more than three families living in it; indeed there were eight! and the law says only three), everything was dark, and several fires were burning on the floor and smoke was everywhere. There were a couple of low windows in the low walls, but even these were lacking before. All over men, women and children were sitting or reclining. The planks of the flooring were roughly worked with big cracks in between, but they were worn smooth by years of bare feet. In the rear was the apartment of the tu'a mbaru, set off by a low wall. Other spaces were not set off until night, when mats were hung up between them. There is not much privacy here. Looking up I saw the intricate network of rafters, with ropes binding the whole thing. And above this were the big mat holders for food. Long rows of ear corn, unshucked, were hung on the beams. The main post was the center of everything, but I did not see the food shelf for the naga, as I did not hear about this until later.

342 The conical roof is beautiful. This was an
531 ordinary house, with merely an upright stick
178 above the tip. Formerly, only the tuan tanah house could have horns, but I note that now many houses, rectangular ones (but I haven't seen any round ones that use the horns illegally) use horns illegally. Some horns are accompanied by birds. One set here has a bird in the middle and a bird on the tip of either horn. Another has a human head with horns like arms (looked like the human figure atop the Ngada ngadu).

614 I found that the Tjepang va'u is the main one

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621 rang Veol was run between the two kampongs. This was because if it had included in the Veol gelarang all the kampongs inhabited by va'u Veol, it would have been very large. And Bima wanted to have as many gelarang as possible, because thus a greater tax yield was made certain.

342 592 656 178 Fifty years ago all houses were round. There were three of them, two in Veol and one in Ndung. These houses were about two times as large as the present round ones, that is, about twenty meters in diameter rather than about twelve meters in diameter. In one such house there might live up to three hundred people!

The assistant until about five years of age lived in a house in Pau with three hundred people. There were only two in the Pau kampong, one for each of the two va'u there. Then, in 1926, came a law stating that not more than three families could be housed in a single dwelling. It took some time before the houses became smaller.

In 1927, came a law stating that all houses had to be rectangular, not round (the paternalistic Dutch!). The people were willing to make their houses smaller, but they refused to make them rectangular. Also, they didn't know how to build a rectangular house. They had to call in specialists, carpenters. It is notable here that a really complex style of building, the round house type, was known to the primitive folk, but not the simpler rectangular type! Anyway, the law about having to build rectangular houses was rescinded after three hopeless years. Since then, houses until very recently were mostly round but smaller.

342 178 The next change was to have low walls on round houses, and also they began to use nails (I noticed that in the new rectangular house

342 178 in Tjantjar they use some nails, but also many wooden pegs; perhaps the nails are expensive and hard to get).

Now comes the last stage, when the rectangular houses are coming in all over. A certain pastor went around showing how to build the rectangular type houses, and now everyone follows his model exactly. They do not know any variations! Until 1948 all houses in the Veol--Ndung area were round. Now there are only three left, and Number 11 is to be torn down this month, and they intend to tear down Number 8 soon. In the old days, and now, a round house lasted only ten years, anyway.

166 178 [342] Usually, when they build a new house the whole population of the old one moves out and into the new one en masse. This took place every ten years. They seldom move from the kampong. An exception was the mass move of Tjepang to Tjantjar twenty years ago.

In the past fifty years the only movement he knows of was the Tjepang one. Before this there were many moves out of Veol, and Veol [644] va'u kampongs are found all over the area, as well as families from Veol. But this was all before fifty years ago.

The places to which Veol folk have moved are all in Manggarai, and only in the two or three nearby dalu or gelarang, for example Rahong and Tjibal.

166 578 Families move because of four causes, according to the assistant: (1) arguments over whose pigs are using the troughs and when, (2) arguments over pigs getting into gardens, whereupon the pig would be cut (like the buffalo I saw yesterday), (3) arguments between women over the use of pestles, and (4) marriages of men who went to live with their wives, taking the Veol name with them. Thus it seems that the main cause or causes are arguments, and they

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776 because it was new. This is because it was
778 planted when they moved (or maybe it was a
361 second new one, as they said the old one died). Anyway, there is no tree on the old site, just an empty place and some stones. The old tree has evidently died, as he says they do not cut them down. No one would dare live in that place again. They may go there occasionally if there is a reason to do so, but they do not remain there. It is a cursed spot. The vatu Veol is a man, but he does not yet have the story. When the kampong moves, they get a new stone heap and tree (tjompang).

[166] Many kampongs have moved because their naga have turned bad. Aside from Veol he mentioned Meler and Ladja. They must keep the naga happy, or the situation may become dangerous. Thus the rites held at the tjompang have real meaning. They are for the kampong naga.

342 The house naga lives in each house. His
776 place is the main post. High on this is a lit-
782 tle shelf hung from strings. On this place from time to time the occupants place eggs, rice, and bits of meat. Also, each family apartment or section has a little hanging shelf for the house naga's food. The main post is especially important, and that is why at ceremonies they must give it blood from animals, etc. (There must be a link here with the giving of food to the posts of the Larantuka korke; note that Roy said they must "feed" the posts.)

342 If there is much trouble in the house, the
776 mbako may say that it is because for one reason
[782] or another the house naga is no longer any good. Then they must dismantle the house and build a new one. Many and many a house has been torn down and the folk have then built a new one for this reason. And when they do this, a great expense is entailed, because they may not use the old wood. They sell it to another family

We

342 or another va'u, who will not carry the naga
776 with them. They buy entirely new wood, even to the very small pieces. They can use no part of the old house. I can see a house built with modern tools being torn down because the naga had turned bad (here again is an interesting case of technique and adat, the new and the old).

124 This is all good information, but it came entirely through questioning, and I had to drag things out a bit, because he is very slow in giving information on his own. Here again I see the secrecy, the reluctance, and the fear which is exhibited so often here. He is under a strain, I think. He sets his jaw and almost groans as the information is pulled out.

This is all new material. I doubt that much of it if any has been published.

166 In the past fifty years I do not know how many people have come to live in this kampong area, but right now the entrants are as follows:

Ndung: 29 women have married in.
9 men have married in.
14 couples have moved in from the outside.

Veol: 27 women have married in.
4 men have married in.
4 couples have moved in from the outside.

None of the people who have come into these kampongs from other areas has come from far away. The farthest that any of them has come from is Todo. I made a list of every case, but there is no use to keep it, because there is no pattern. They are all from nearby places. The suku information is more important in order to see what suku have married in.

The incomers are of three types: women who normally marry in; men who abnormally come to live matrilocally, either because they have paid

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763 There was a death in Veol, and from the hill there came the sound of weeping and howling. I asked if someone had died recently, and he said after listening that the person had died this morning. He could tell by listening, so it seems that there are evidently stages of howling. The next day there was no drumming in the kampong, because of the death, and evidently the dead takes precedence over wood.

186 Everywhere in Indonesia now, as this morning from the school, one can hear Indonesia Raja sung. They all know that it was taboo before.

●342 I saw the Radja's house in Ruteng today. It is a complex of three round houses, with one big one in the center. Of course, it was made of fine wood, which was about octangular, but the roof was made of grass thatch. It was impressive.

766 The Radja's daughter of about ten years of age died today, and there was a constant coming and going of cars, police jeep and others, bringing the local kraeng to Ruteng. I took one of the kraeng along at noon. I also took
515 a lot of others, and the smell was strong in the car. I think they never bathe. The pretty head guru's wife got sick, and also one child. They vomited because of carsickness.

194 The mandur said the Ngada can never get over their accent, which is full of gutturals. It is like Dutch. I heard this in the Radja's Malay in Badjawa. The guttural g is here a bit too, as noted in the place name Ndeges, with the g pronounced as in Dutch.

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683 The assistant agrees that several mbako were jailed from time to time. The charge has been magic murder, but they can't get a conviction because they have no "witnesses." Still, this is a big reason why they no longer tell outsiders who the mbako are.

In regard to the radja and the land matter,

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415 the case. Dishes and forks and spoons have
178 come in to some extent. Formerly they used wooden things, gourds, etc. only. Kitchen stuff is now to be found in the area. Terrac-
241 ing is new. Irrigated rice fields came in
178 only twenty years ago. The use of buffaloes in agriculture and the plow are very recent (five years ago). All the people are still farmers, however.

436 Today the people have much more money than
178 they had, for example, twenty years ago. Fifty years ago there was no money here at all.

342 Formerly there were no tin roofs or nails.
178 Now there are a few. Houses are different in style. In quantity most of the stuff is not changed.

285 Rattan baskets for clothing are no longer
415 made. They prefer wooden containers. However, they still make mats and baskets. The women make these, and the men make their plaited songko.

286 There is no spinning or weaving. This is
784 taboo except in the northeast quarter of Manggarai (Coolhaas is incomplete on this) and Todo-Pongkor and Labuan Hadji. It is beginning to come in in the west.

823 Pottery is made in a few kampongs (Puruk,
784 Mungges, Bolong). This is taboo except in these places. The penalty is the same as for weaving: bad crops, illness, etc. In Pongkor, only one kampong can make pottery, and only one in Todo. Usually one or two kampongs can make pottery in an area.

326 Smiths are new. There was no iron work here
178 before. Formerly they had to buy instruments made from iron. Now they have equipment to do some forms of iron work in Rai and a few other places. Todo-Pongkor has had smithing for perhaps three hundred years (they brought it in evidently). It is not taboo, but they just

1 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

We

242 311 exhausting the soil. Someday someone is going to have to move away!

241 242 Then we talked of fertilizer. They have heard of using manure here, and I told how the Japanese and Chinese forage for manure, following animals around, and using human wastes too. He said, however, that they have heard of this and that the idea is revolting to them. They wouldn't do it. This is curious. They call manure pupuk! (Note the Batak significance.) However, animals graze on fallow fields, so there is some profit from manure anyway.

241 231 A buffalo is sacrificed at the tjompang for harvest too.

782 527 I am not clear as to whether it is necessary to sacrifice a buffalo for every new round garden and lodok or only for the main one. I think the latter. Anyway, they do not sacrifice a buffalo every year for the garden, but only when a new one is opened and a lodok is set up. The following year or years no buffalo is sacrificed, because the same lodok remains.

Thus, I suppose that with the present constant use of the garden, there are few if any buffalo sacrificed for lodok. Also, the buffalo sacrifice accompanies only the first harvest from a new garden. There is no buffalo sacrifice in succeeding years for the harvest from the same field.

At the garden rites they pray, sing and dance. [535] There is a harvest parade around the lodok and around the main post in the tuan tanah house, led by the tuan tanah. Note also that the sanda dance (as at the New Year feast in Anan) is done in the house, and this round dance goes around the main post. These are not only stone people but also circular people.

782 231 (3) New kampong. A buffalo is sacrificed at the new tjompang.

527 342 (4) A new big house. Only pigs are sacrificed.

527 We
782 Drums, etc. are set up.
231 (5) A new ordinary house. There is a small
[342] feast, and pigs are killed.

[731] (6) If there is an epidemic, a big feast is
[783] held, like the tjutji kampong of Ambon. The
[756] mbako decides when it is needed. It is called kaba erba golo, which means "buffalo (kaba) makes young or renews (erba) the kampong (golo)." Thus the word for young seems to have the sense of making young or cleaning or renewing. There is a buffalo sacrificed, I suppose at the tjompang.

[697] (7) When a man returns from jail. A buffalo is sacrificed.

[585] (8) A wedding. For such rites only pigs are sacrificed. Buffaloes which are killed at this time are for food only, not for ritual use.

[704] (9) Funerals. If such a rite is for an up-
[565] per, a buffalo is sacrificed; if a funeral is for a lower, only a pig is sacrificed.

[844] (10) Birth. A bigger ceremony is held for a first child, and all the kampong folk attend. Later children are given smaller rites, and only the family attend. Pigs or fowls are sacrificed. Such ceremonies are held five to ten days after birth. There is no special touching the ground rite. However, at this time the baby's hair is cut and a name is given.

844 This led to a discussion of birth. In each
[756] kampong the mbako are also midwives, i.e., at least some of them. A male mbako may be a midwife, and Cornelius says that some are very clever at this. Evidently all mbako are medicine givers and sorcerers and soothsayers, etc., but not all of them are midwives.

843 There are no food taboos for pregnant women, but there are restrictions. If a pregnant woman goes out at night, she must carry a knife (like Ambon). An expectant father may not make bamboo water holders. Neither parent may work at the graves or go to funerals

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124 sistant, Cornelius, was fine. I left him a stamped envelope and paper to get information on the bride price and mother's brother's daughter marriage frequency.

Van Bekkum[1] showed me a great volume typed
114 before the war by an assistant of his on
124 Manggarai marriage customs. It was only two-thirds done, and he needs another year to complete it. It is all planned out and indexed. It is monumental and should be translated and published. Van Bekkum says that only Cornelius could do the book. He also went on a several months field trip for the mission to Pulué Island, off the Maumere coast, where there was said to have been an aboriginal population. He has a manuscript on the buffalo sacrifice there.

He is a remarkable fellow and importuned me only a little for palm wine and tobacco for the old men.

574 The last day we went along to the near end
123 of the road, to kampong Anam, one of the dalu
[273] kampongs. Here there were plenty of kraeng with hangovers, and some still a bit drunk. This is a very large kampong, with perhaps a population of six hundred. There is a tjompang in it and several tuan tanah. At the tjompang, which had stones newly and nicely arranged, were sticks stuck with wood chips on them with rice and bits of other types of food, offered at the New Year feast. I was invited into the main tuan tanah house, and there I sat with lots of men in a circle, on mats and on mat cushions. Women played fine drum and gong music, and men sang fine sanda songs, with solos and choruses.
[782] Hanging on the rafter near the center was the main naga bamboo food shelf, and in each family section along the walls were similar ones. Food was placed on them. The house was rectan-
[342] gular (there are no more tuan tanah houses in

[1] [Pastor at Ruteng --Analyst]

342 this area which are round, because the rectan-
574 gular ones last longer and the people like
123 them on this account, because all of them must pay for a new one). They gave me roasted bits of pork (tough and with plenty of fat), and the palm beer, which was milky and strong. I took photographs of them and they were amazed.

342 This is a new kampong, and is merely named
[103] six (Anam). There are plenty of round houses, but all of them with partly wooden walls. The assistant says that there are still a fair number of the real old style round houses with no walls, especially in Tjibal.

574 In the afternoon I went to the mandur's house,
592 where he served a fine dish of ear corn, fresh from the garden, and also some corn cooked by steam in the leaves. We also had rice, etc. He is a real host, and his old father talked some. I took photographs of the family, including his handsome wife. She is from Pongkor. Plenty of her sisters seemed to be about, and he said something about how this is quite usual for a wife's sisters to live with her.

114 Finally we pulled out of Ruteng in the morning on January 31, expecting to ship out of Reo that day. I stayed in Reo waiting two days.

[487] Going down the mountains I noticed that the
567 land was largely empty. The road led through the dalu Tjibal. Down this road used to come the slaves for shipping to Bima from Reo. They were sold especially for firearms. Many Manggarai descendants must be all over Indonesia, because so many slaves were exported. Thus there is a section "Manggarai" in Batavia. And of course there are plenty in Bima.

114 In Reo, which is a poor place, I went to Kedindi, the port, or rather the beach with sheds of palm. There was no ship. Therefore I went back to Reo and stayed at the pasanggra-